

# Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR  
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Pat. Off.

## What Should We Do About the Communist Threat in Asia?

Moderator, **GEORGE V. DENNY, Jr.**

### Speakers

**HAROLD ISAACS**

**H. R. KNICKERBOCKER**

**JOHN M. VORYS**

**J. J. SINGH**

(See also page 12)

### COMING

———— May 24, 1949 ————

**How Much Must We Spend for Real  
National Security?**

———— May 31, 1949 ————

**How Can We Best Resolve Our Differences  
With Soviet Russia?**

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# CONTENTS



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## THE BROADCAST OF MAY 17:

### "What Should We Do About the Communist Threat in Asia?"

Mr. DENNY.....	3
Sirdar SINGH.....	4
Mr. KNICKERBOCKER.....	6
Mr. ISAACS.....	7
Congressman VORYS.....	9
THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN.....	12
QUESTIONS, PLEASE!.....	15



## THE BROADCAST OF MAY 24:

### "How Much Must We Spend for Real National Security?"



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### "How Can We Best Resolve Our Differences With Russia?"



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GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



MAY 17, 1949

VOL. 15, No. 3

## What Should We Do About the Communist Threat in Asia?

### Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. We are happy to be presenting tonight's program in coöperation with the Fourth National Conference on Citizenship sponsored jointly by the Department of Justice and the National Education Association which is meeting here in New York this week. We are happy to welcome so many delegates to this Conference here in our audience tonight.

Mysterious Asia is much closer to us than we think, as we found out on the morning of December 7, 1941 — Pearl Harbor Day. We had taken a very superficial view of the problems of that part of the world until the war broke out.

Actually, we don't have to be experts, however, on Asia, in order to have informed opinions on tonight's question. You know, of course, that the basic problem in Asia is poverty — unbelievable poverty, ill health, and disease. The people of Asia, as you and I,

want better things and greater opportunities. They're essentially an agricultural people. Most of them are trying to eke out a living on small farms not much larger than your back yard—possibly a sixth of an acre. Think of it—more than half of the world's total population, our fellow human beings, are trying to live in this way.

They're beginning to hear about our way of life, and they have begun to taste freedom. They're hearing about communism, too, and it has swept across China in the name of the agrarian reform movement.

The Communists know what they want, and they're going after it. But do we, here in America, know what we want to do about the communist threat in Asia? Apparently, we do not. Opinion in America is strongly divided about what we should do. Consequently, we are doing nothing.

To counsel with us this evening, we have invited Mr. J. J. Singh, a



native of India, who has lived for 23 years here in America; Mr. H. R. Knickerbocker, who has roamed the world for news during the past 20 years for International News Service and the *Chicago Sun*; Mr. Harold R. Isaacs, veteran newsman and foreign correspondent for *Newsweek* magazine who has just returned from a tour of South Asia and has attended the New Delhi Conference on Indonesia; and Congressman John M. Vorys, Republican of Columbus, Ohio, and a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

We are going to hear first from a man who spent his early years in his home in India, who took an active part in Gandhi's first freedom movement, and took postgraduate work in London before coming to this country in 1927. Sirdar J. J. Singh is one of the leaders in the United States for India's freedom. Although still a citizen of India and president of the India League of America and special correspondent for several Indian newspapers, he knows and loves America. He speaks tonight with a deep understanding of the longings and ambitions of the Asian people. We are happy to welcome back to Town Meeting Mr. J. J. Singh. (Applause.)

### Mr. Singh:

I think we ought to be clear at the outset on certain things. We are agreed, as far as I know, that the victory of communist totalitar-

ianism in Asia would be a tragedy for the people of Asia and for the rest of the world.

I, as a citizen of India, am opposed to communism; and the great majority of my countrymen, I am sure, share my feelings. But it isn't enough just to be anti-communist.

My people and millions of other people in Asia have formidable problems to face. They are poor—poorer than you in America can ever really imagine. Millions of them, from the day they are born until the day they die, live on a mere starvation diet. They need help in solving their problems.

We have to remember that the humble peasants of Asia are not so interested in the cold war. They don't know much about the cold war. But they do know about their own lives. They do know that they want no foreign rulers over them. They do know that they have to find for themselves a better way to live—a healthier way, a more productive way.

Your problem, as Americans, is to find a way of making yourselves the partners of these people in this effort. And make no mistake about what this means. Asia is going through a revolution—a revolution against tyranny, against foreign rule, against conditions of perpetual degradation and misery.

America has to learn not to be afraid of revolutions but how to help make the right kind of revolutions. If it does not, it cannot be

surprised and hurt and grieved when somebody else—in this case, the Communists with Russians back of them—make their kind of revolution and win control over more and more of the world's territory and the world's people.

Incidentally, just talk will no longer be of any use. The United States is getting a reputation in Asia of being just a big talker. The history of the United States, its background, and the pronouncement of its leaders have created great expectancy in the minds of the peoples of Asia, but today the peoples of Asia are drifting away from the United States. This is not due to Communist propaganda alone. Surely there are Communists all over Asia who are always trying to create anti-American feeling, but the present drifting away from the United States is due more to disappointment in the actions of the United States than to Communist propaganda.

Let's take the case of Indonesia and Viet Nam, otherwise known as Indo-China. To the Indonesians and the Viet Nameese, there is no greater evil than the evil of the rule of the Dutch and of the French, and in the minds of the peoples of Indonesia and Viet Nam, whether you like it or not, the United States is a partner of these two imperialist powers. The peoples of Indonesia and Viet Nam feel that, notwithstanding all the professions of democracy, when it comes to actual test, the United

States stands by the imperialist European powers.

This does not tend to make friends in Asia, nor does it stop communism in Asia. It only helps Russia perpetuate the myth that it is a friend and champion of the Asian people.

If genuine nationalist movements for freedom are not helped by democracy, such as in the case of Indonesia and Viet Nam, then the democracies might as well prepare themselves for more and more communist penetration in those areas.

It is generally conceded that if the British had insisted on continuing their rule in India, even for another year, there would have been an open revolt, and out of this revolt the Communists would have perhaps come out on top, but the timely withdrawal of the British rule in India assuaged the natural and burning desire of the people of India to be free—this has checked communism in India.

If the Dutch and the French were to continue their imperialist rule in Indonesia and Viet Nam, communism will spread. It will not be checked. I humbly suggest that Communist forces can only be stopped by dynamic, living, practicing democratic forces. (Applause.)

### **Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Mr. Singh. Now let's hear from a famous international journalist, H. R. Knickerbocker,



who has a curious knack of turning up wherever trouble is brewing in the world. Mr. Knickerbocker is sure that trouble is brewing in Asia, and he has some ideas about how we can prevent it from turning into a full-scale war. Mr. Knickerbocker, do you agree with Mr. Singh's analysis of the situation? H. R. Knickerbocker. (*Applause.*)

### **Mr. Knickerbocker:**

Well, I do agree with Mr. Singh that we do want a free and prosperous Asia, and we Americans want a free and prosperous Asia to be our ally against communist imperialism. But the Communists have a military mentality, and with it they have made all their conquests from the original Russian revolutions down to today in China.

Unless we first stop communist force with democratic force there will be no democrats left to argue ideology with the Communists in China or anywhere else in the world. If it weren't for communist expansion by force, we could be sure that World War III would never come.

Capitalist factories not only produce more than communist factories but each year capitalist production draws still further ahead of communist production. So that, if the communist world were to stay within its present area, large as it is, the superiority of the capitalist economic system would become so overwhelming that the

communist threat would eventually disappear.

But if the communist empire takes China and then Asia, the time will come when the war-making capacity of the communist world will surpass that of our world, and when that time comes World War III will come.

To put it in over-simplified terms, 100 capitalist factories can produce more than 200 communist factories, but 100 capitalist factories cannot equal the production of 1,000 communist factories. This is the reason, as I see it, why it is urgent to do something about communism in Asia.

The Asian peoples want liberty. That's why they struggle against colonialism. But colonial powers take only part of their liberties. Communism takes all of them. Our interest is to help them get and keep all their liberties.

But the Asian people don't really know what communism means. Asia today is like Russia in 1918. The armed forces of communism are conquering in Asia by force and promises. Communist force can only be stopped by force, and communist promises by exposure.

If the Asian people could be taught that their material standard of living would be higher and their liberties incomparably greater under capitalist democracy than under communism, the ideological war would be won, but not the armed war.

We are largely responsible for the successes of the Chinese Com

munists. Their present drive began when they got the arms of the Japanese in Manchuria. Russia gave them these arms, and it was we who invited the Russians into the war, unnecessarily and disastrously.

No help we ever gave the Chinese Nationalists ever came anywhere near equaling those Japanese arms that we were responsible for giving to the Chinese Communists.

If we don't stop the communist armies in China by force, communism will win, despite the falsity of its promises. To declare that the Chinese Communists cannot be stopped, that it's too late, is to resign ourselves to the inevitability of World War III. If the Chinese believe communist propagandists, it's because we've done nothing to give them the truth.

I propose that the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan idea be extended to Asia; that we appropriate an initial billion dollars and as many more as necessary for the defense of South China; that we assign General MacArthur or Wedemeyer or Mark Clark to the command of an American staff of several thousand officers to help direct the efforts of the Nationalist Government. I propose that we immediately prepare a plan for the industrialization of China more attractive than anything the Communists can produce, and put a radio set in every Chinese village and tell them what democracy can do for them.

Give the free Chinese arms and give them the truth. Talk democracy and help democracy fight in China and all Asia.

Meet and beat the Communists at every variety of their game. That's my suggestion. It would cost us a fraction of the war it might prevent. (*Applause.*)

### **Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Mr. Knickerbocker. Mr. Harold Isaacs, author and foreign correspondent for *Newsweek*, has only recently returned from an extensive trip to South Asia where he covered the New Delhi conference on Indonesian affairs. Mr. Isaacs, what do you think we should do about the communist threat in Asia? Mr. Harold Isaacs. (*Applause.*)

### **Mr. Isaacs:**

Mr. Knickerbocker wants to appropriate a billion dollars to send an American general and several thousand American officers to China to prop up an army to stave off the communist menace. The trouble with this is, it won't work. We have tried before to prop up government armies in China, not with a few thousand officers, but with more than a hundred thousand men and an air force. The army we tried to build never did come to grips with the Japanese, and although we gave it fire power and flew it into strategic positions at the end of the war, it has now fallen apart in front of the Communists.

The Chinese Government has



crumbled virtually without a fight. Whole armies and divisions have deserted. The government has disintegrated and the people, whether they welcome the Communists or not, are glad to see that government go. At this late hour, Mr. Knickerbocker wants us to go in and try it all over again to find a few stooges to stem the tide.

Make no mistake about it. The policy of sending in guns will, if you are serious about it, have to be followed by sending in men and planes. It won't prevent World War III, Mr. Knickerbocker. It could be the real beginning of World War III.

If there is such a thing as victory any more, it certainly is not guaranteed. Whether we like it or not, we would be regarded by millions of Chinese as a foreign enemy, and be treated accordingly.

To be sure, Russian imperialism does stand behind the Chinese Communists, but it has the advantage right now of having a Chinese army of several million men on its side. We would have nothing but a handful of worthless mercenaries, militarists, money-grubbers, politicians, landlords—leaders with whom the Chinese people have obviously broken for good.

These are the sober facts, and it is a tragic error to blink one's eyes at them.

I agree with Mr. Knickerbocker that the communist victory in China is a tragedy, and that Russian totalitarianism is a threat to

all men who want to be free, but I don't think the answer to it is war—war in China or war anywhere else. If we accept that answer, we accept catastrophe, win or lose.

No, I say it's hysterical to accept the notion that there is nothing to do but fight or prepare to fight. The cue for the time being has passed to the Communists in China, and any new American military adventure will only strengthen their hand and solidify their position.

The Communists have formidable problems with which to cope in China. The way in which they cope with them will determine the real shape of their influence in the rest of Asia. This is the point of contact we now have.

There are 500 million other people in South Asia, from India to Indonesia. It is in relation to them that we will still have time to begin acting intelligently and forcefully to learn from the mistakes made in China and to set up a counter influence which will, more than any Maginot line of containment, help change the ultimate direction that China will travel.

The way to get those 500 million people on our side is for us to get on their side. The old status quo is just as bankrupt in South Asia as it was in China. We've got to learn how to become partners in the business of change, partners in revolution, if you will, as Mr. Singh has so rightly said. We've got to be bold about it and we've got to be quick.

Concretely, first, we've got t



stop France and Holland from perpetuating the bogie of imperialism in South Asia. Right now, by our confusion and our double dealing and our myopia about Europe, we are identified throughout South Asia with the French and Dutch attempts to keep some control over their colonies in Indo-China and Indonesia. I can tell you that fact is losing us as many friends and allies in South Asia as we lost in China because we were identified with Chiang Kai-shek.

We've got to show by deeds that we mean it when we say we're for the end of colonialism and any remaining form of foreign control over Asian people.

Second, we've got to begin to work out an intelligent partnership with the new Asian nationalistic regimes, to begin a common planned effort at social and economic reconstruction on a regional basis. There is still time for it, but not much. We had better start soon. (Applause.)

### **Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Mr. Isaacs. Congressman John Vorys, you represent a large constituency of the American people in the State of Ohio, and as a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and ranking member of the subcommittee on the Far East, we've saved this last spot for you to give us your appraisal of the advice of our previous speakers and your own analysis of the situation. We know that your knowl-

edge of the Far East goes back to your teaching days in the College of Yale in China, and your interest has continued through your visit there two years ago. Congressman John Vorys, Republican of Ohio. (Applause.)

### **Congressman Vorys:**

The first thing to do about the communist threat in Asia is for us to recognize it as a deadly threat to our own security here in the United States. (Applause.) Apparently we all agree on that, tonight. Perhaps we're not emphasizing it enough.

Asian Communists are no mere agrarian reformers, different from Kremlin Communists. Too many Americans in high places thought that and had acted accordingly. Asian Communist leaders, themselves, far from denying their alliance with the Soviets, boast of it.

Communism in Asia is world communism — bad for Asia; a threat to us.

Now apparently we are all agreed that we cannot stop communism in Asia by a revival of nineteenth-century colonialism.

We must combat both communism and imperialism in the Far East. We must stand for the open door in Asia, equal opportunity for all, special spheres of influence and concessions to none in an area of free and independent, but interdependent, nations of free people.

We must take a firm stand in the United Nations and in ECA, against the revival or continuation

of outworn imperialism and colonialism by our friends the Dutch, the French, and the British.

Trusteeship for backward areas must not be, like League of Nations mandates, merely a new cover for old-fashioned exploitations. We must not let the issue become imperialism versus communism.

There's a third solution: Our way—demonstrated in the Philippines—the open door.

We disagree here tonight on military aid to Asia. The issue is in China, where Mr. Isaacs thinks the war is over and freedom is lost. I think we should give the Republic of China military, economic, and spiritual aid, in its struggle to retain its independence against world communism.

Now the Chinese Government is almost as weak now as ours was during the winter at Valley Forge. It is late for our help, and hard because it is late. But it is not too late or too hard yet.

For our own security, we must not let the Communists consolidate China now. This does not mean our military intervention to drive all the Communists out of China by military force.

If the Chinese Government institutes proper reforms in domestic policy, if the Soviet Government institutes proper reforms in its foreign policy, such a struggle will never become necessary. That issue is for the future.

For the present, we must at least help prevent the Communists

from taking over all of China by force.

We should start working on a plan for mutual military and economic aid between the nations of Asia. Let's not call it the Marshall Plan, for his plan for China—coalition with Communists—was the one plan that will not work.

The plan must take in all of the Far East, must include military and economic aid, must depend upon self-help, mutual aid, and cooperation. We should initiate it. I doubt if it can be done under United Nations auspices.

It should not be too costly. Their low standard of living out there plus their great natural resources make their needs far less in dollars than our expenditures in Europe. If our contribution prevents or wins World War III, it will be worth while.

Now, I am a Congressman. I'm worried about our budget, about postponing good things here at home—welfare measures, tax reductions—because destiny has thrown us unready and unwilling into a position of world leadership. We didn't want it. We want nothing out of it. But now we must lead or die, and we'll lead.

Those people in Asia are far away, different from us, different in color and habits, poor. But they're human beings—our brothers.

There's more involved in this than a power struggle between us and Russia. We must lead so that in the future, when this commu-

ist struggle is over and won, and we white people are a minority in a small and well-developed world, it will be a safe and satisfactory place for our children's children.

### **Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Congressman John Vorys. Well, gentlemen, there seems to be some sharp differences of opinion here among all four of you. Will you join me up here around the microphone, Mr. Singh, Mr. Knickerbocker, Mr. Isaacs, and Congressman Vorys? Mr. Singh, would you like to start us off here?

**Mr. Singh:** I think I would like to make a comment on what Mr. Knickerbocker said. He made the remark that colonial powers take away some of the freedoms from the people they rule, but if the Communists were to take over, they would take away all powers from them.

I think that's a fallacy, and I think Mr. Knickerbocker is suffering from lack of knowledge on that subject. If you were to go to any one of these Viet Nameese or Indonesian people, and tell them, "Look, today you are under the French or the Dutch, but if the Russians come you will lose your civil liberties, you won't have better food, your homes will be taken," he is going to laugh in Mr. Knickerbocker's face. He's not going to believe a word of it. He will say, "So what. What have I got now?" That is precisely what he is going to say.

I think Mr. Knickerbocker is being very smug about it in the Town Hall meeting, or in America where everything is fine. Let's face the facts. The people in Indonesia, the people in Viet Nam, in our colonial areas, do not consider any other evil the greater evil than the evil of imperialist rule of their country.

**Mr. Denny:** Thank you. Mr. Knickerbocker, have you a comment?

**Mr. Knickerbocker:** Yes, it reminds me very much of a talk I had with Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, the old president and founder of Czechoslovakia, who told me that, in his opinion, the Hapsburgs were very much worse than Hitler ever could be. But when Hitler came to Czechoslovakia, he talked to Czechoslovaks differently. The Czechoslovaks know now that compared to Hitler—and to the Communists—the Hapsburg reign was a very pleasant thing indeed.

The Viet Nameese and the inhabitants of Indonesia may today think that there is nothing worse than the French and the Dutch rule, but wait until they have really experienced communism, and they will feel as differently about it as the Czechoslovaks do today.

**Mr. Isaacs:** Congressman Vorys is worried about our budget. The best way not to worry about the budget is to dream up billions to drop down the bottomless hole of Nationalist China. Congressman



## THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

**JOHN MARTIN VORYS**—Born in Lancaster, Ohio, Mr. Vorys was graduated at Yale and then taught for a year at the College of Yale in China. He was given a J.D. degree by Ohio State University in 1923 and was admitted to the Ohio bar. Practicing law in Columbus, Ohio, he was a member of the firm of Vorys, Sater, Seymour & Pease from 1926 until 1938. A Republican, he was elected to the 76th United States Congress in 1939. He has served continuously since then. He is a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the House.

Mr. Vorys has been a member of the Ohio General Assembly and the Ohio Senate. During World War I, he served overseas as a pilot in the U. S. Naval Air Service. In 1942, he was a pilot in the Civil Air Patrol.

**J. J. SINGH**—Sirdar Singh, who is President of the India League of America, was formerly a member of the All-India Congress Committee. He is also a former president of the India Chamber of Commerce of the United States. He was born of Sikh parents in Punjab Province, India. Mr. Singh studied in India at Khalsa College and took postgraduate work in London, England. He was formerly vice president of the Indian Merchants' Association in London. Sirdar Singh came to the United States in 1926 to operate India's concession at the Philadelphia Sesquicentennial Exposition. He stayed in America and is now president of Singh, Singh & Co., importing house in New York.

**HUBERT RENFRO KNICKERBOCKER**—Author and roving correspondent for International News Service, Mr. Knickerbocker was official wartime correspondent of the First Division of the

U. S. Army. Born in Yoakum, Texas, in 1898, he has an A.B. and a Litt.D. from Southwestern University at Georgetown, Texas. He has also studied at Columbia, the University of Munich, the University of Vienna, and the University of Berlin.

After serving for short periods on the staffs of the *Newark Morning Ledger*, the *New York Evening Post*, and the *New York Sun*, he was head of the Department of Journalism at Southern Methodist University for one year. But reporting was in his blood and he returned to the newspaper field as assistant Berlin correspondent for the *New York Evening Post* and the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*. From 1928 until 1941 he was Berlin correspondent. In 1925, he also became Moscow correspondent for International News Service, and from 1928 to 1933, was Berlin correspondent. From 1933 until 1941, he was a traveling correspondent. During this time he covered the Italo-Abyssinian War, the Spanish Civil War, the Sino-Japanese War, the Battle of France, the London Blitz, and the Battle of Britain.

During the next few years, Mr. Knickerbocker reported from the Southwest Pacific, Java, Australia, New Guinea, Sicily, Italy, France, Belgium, Germany, the Middle East, Palestine, and Turkey.

During 1942 and 1943, he was official army correspondent in North Africa. He was awarded the Pulitzer prize for correspondents in 1939.

Mr. Knickerbocker is the author of several books.

**HAROLD ISAACS**—Mr. Isaacs is an author and also foreign correspondent for *Newsweek*.

Vorys is worried about Valley Forges. He won't find it in the last desperate remnant of a bunch of politicians that have had their day and are out.

If he's interested in the Valley Forges that are important to us, he'll find them in the guerrillas fighting in the hills of Indonesia. He'll find them among the guerrillas fighting in Indo-China. Those

are the people whom we can help with profit to ourselves and to our future and to them.

**Congressman Vorys:** I respect Mr. Isaacs as an expert out there but on military questions I think I'll string along with MacArthur, General Wedemeyer, and Claire Chennault. (Applause.) We had General Chennault before us just a few days ago. He's been in China

since Mr. Isaacs was. He knows a lot about China, has lived out there, has a Chinese wife.

I want to quote a couple of things he said to us: "The choice is between a painful and expensive course of action which may not immediately accomplish too much to boast about, and a painless and inexpensive inaction, which will certainly end in catastrophe."

On the cost of the necessary military aid to hold the Communists, he said, "We could work out adequate defense plans for the next couple of years at a cost per year not exceeding twice the Berlin airlift." That was one that a lot of arm-chair experts said we couldn't carry out. But General Clay and General Curtis LeMay, from my town of Columbus, said we could, and we carried out the airlift. We can do our part to furnish these fighting Chinese. There are generals and forces there that are still going to fight—and I take the word of military men who have just come back—if we give them something to fight with. That's what we have not been doing.

I want to quote one other thing about this possibility of just a peaceful pushover against communism in Asia. Here's what Chennault said: "When you're trying to defend liberty against conquerors 'on the make,' particularly in Asia, there's no avoiding the necessity of using affirmative force. Mr. Churchill understood that when Mr. Chamberlain didn't. No conqueror on the make, from

Genghis Khan to Napoleon to Hitler ever just burned out, or stuck in the morass, or was stopped by ideas alone."

I'm going to string along with some of the military men who have been in China and know what the chances are, even though they tell us that the chances, because of the lateness of the hour, are desperate and serious.

**Mr. Singh:** Congressman Vorys wants to quote General Chennault. He is welcome to do so. I could give you many quotations from a much greater man in my estimation, and that's General Marshall. You see, General Chennault may be married to a Chinese young lady, but at the same time I don't think that makes him any party of the knowledge as to how the people of China really feel towards this present Nationalist Government.

I would like to aid the people of China; I would like to go and fight for the people of China, if you could assure me that the present Nationalist Government, at its heart, has the welfare of the people of China. But I will not lend one support, one dime, one effort of mine to a gang of crooks.

Let me say what's going on in Shanghai. They are building a wooden fence around Shanghai! A wooden fence around Shanghai! And hundreds of thousands of dollars are being taken and put into pockets of some of the crooked generals. (*Applause.*) And I purposely and advisedly use the word "crooked." I am not afraid of using

that word, because if they're not crooked, they wouldn't be building these little wooden fences which I'm sure a few American Boy Scouts could go and break down. (*Applause and laughter.*)

**Mr. Denny:** Thank you. Mr. Knickerbocker?

**Mr. Knickerbocker:** Well, I'm surprised, Mr. Singh, I genuinely am, at the fact that you are so vehemently against the support of the only anti-Communists left in China. Suppose, Mr. Singh, your own country, India, were in this condition, and that the Communists had already conquered about a third of your country, and you had a government of India which you didn't approve of, but at the same time it was all there was that could help you withstand conquest by the Communists, would you then be as vehemently against any kind of resistance to the Communists as you are now?

**Mr. Singh:** I would leave it to the people of my country to fight anything that they do not like in the form of government or ideology. I would not ask for foreign aid to come into my country and fight. Because the moment that you land over there, in the eyes of the Chinese people, you will be their enemies, and you would not have served the cause. You would have lost the cause.

**Mr. Denny:** Thank you. Now Mr. Isaacs.

**Mr. Isaacs:** We have heard General Chennault quoted on the statement that ideas don't win

alone. No, ideas don't win alone, but neither does force—naked, empty, brutal, barren force—win anything but the kind of things the Hitlers won, the kind of thing Chiang Kai-shek's won in China. In the end, it brings nothing but misery and destruction and poverty and degradation on peoples.

Yes, we have to use force and live with force in our world, but we have to know how to combine force with the right ideas. And the right ideas have a great deal more conquering power, especially in Asia, than all the guns and atom bombs we can assemble.

I say that if we cannot find anything in China that is anti-Communist except this handful of miserable leeches who have been sucking their country dry for twenty years, then the Communists have a long ride ahead of them in China, because there's nothing in the world that will dislodge them.

**Mr. Denny:** Thank you. Congressman Vorys?

**Congressman Vorys:** As opposed to General Singh and General Isaacs, again I string along with General Wedemeyer, who said this before our committee, "I do know the Generalissimo, as well as any Occidental, I believe. I left China with the highest regard and admiration for that man. There are weaknesses in his government; there are weaknesses in all governments. However, the fact remains that the present government is in opposition to a force



about which, I think, all agree we must definitely do something to stop." I'm talking about supporting the government of the Republic of China which the Chinese people have selected when they're opposing a communist force which wants to come in and take over that government.

**Mr. Denny:** Thank you, Congressman Vorys. Now we have an eager audience here, a very fine representative audience, and before we take the questions, we want you to listen to the following message.

**Announcer:** Here we are in the middle of the 560th broadcast of America's Town Meeting of the Air discussing the subject "What Should We Do About the Communist Threat in Asia?" Would you like a copy of tonight's Town Meeting, complete with questions and answers to follow? If you would, then send 10 cents to Town Hall, Box 56, New York 46, and ask for the Town Meeting Bulletin. Please do not enclose stamps, and allow about two weeks for delivery.

How would you yourself like to do something about the threat of communism in Asia? You can do it by making your contribution to

help send your Town Meeting around the world and by getting your friends to do the same. Be sure that your city is well represented on our Town Meeting scroll which we will present to the Mayor in each city in which Town Meeting originates this summer.

Now, just before we take the questions from our audience here in Town Hall tonight, here is a transcribed message from another outstanding American to each one of you. Listen!

**Mr. Bunche:** This is Ralph Bunche at the United Nations. America's Town Meeting of the Air is undertaking an important project in behalf of world peace and better understanding between nations. This summer, I am informed, Town Meeting will travel abroad to increase understanding of America around the world and spread the democratic way of free discussion. This plan, however, needs your help. Your dollar for democracy sent to Town Hall, New York, will promote peace, freedom, and well-being.

**Announcer:** Now for our discussion period, we return you to Mr. Denny.

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## QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

**Mr. Denny:** We have a fine audience here in Town Hall, with many representatives of the Fourth National Conference on Citizenship eager to ask questions. Also, we have a very distinguished guest in

our audience, Mr. Manilal Gandhi, the son of the great Mahatma, who has just come in from South Africa. I want him to rise and let this audience greet him. Mr. Gandhi. (*Applause.*)

Thank you very much, Mr. Gandhi. We are very happy, indeed, to have you here as the guest of a distinguished Town Hall speaker, Mr. Louis Fischer, whom we hope to hear from later in this discussion period. Now we start with a question from the young man under the balcony there.

*Man:* Mr. Knickerbocker, are Chinese Communists Russian dominated, or are they an independent Chinese faction merely receiving some incidental Russian help?

*Mr. Knickerbocker:* I believe that they are Russian dominated in the sense that all of their leaders were trained in Moscow and that we have no definite indications at all, so far, that they're going to be as independent as Tito, for example, in Yugoslavia.

But suppose they were. Suppose Mao Tse-tung were to develop into a Chinese Tito. That wouldn't make him any more friendly to us. It wouldn't be the ideal solution from Stalin's point of view, but the threat to us would be equally menacing.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. The gentleman right down here on the front row, please.

*Man:* My question is for Mr. Isaacs. Didn't America put her wealth and manpower against the Fascists? Then why not against communism in China or anywhere in the world?

*Mr. Isaacs:* Yes, I think we have to put our manpower and wealth against totalitarianism anywhere

in the world, but I think it becomes a dangerous business to think that we have to make the leap today into a Third World War, when what we're confronted with is not a problem, as yet, of an aggressive war, but a problem of the shape of the world.

If we have no time in which to try to determine the shape of the world by means of peace and have to move on into the catastrophe of a Third World War, then all political questions become irrelevant. It's a question of time.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Isaacs. Now the lady under the balcony.

*Lady:* Mr. Singh, do you think that the United Nations can help stop communism in Asia? If so, in what way?

*Mr. Singh:* If the United Nations were to become as strong a body as we had expected when it was started—and we still hope that it might become that strong body—and the troubles of these two great sides, the one side U. S. S. R. and the other side U. S. A., could be moved over to the United Nations, I'm sure that the United Nations could stop communism. (Applause.)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. A gentleman over here on the other side.

*Man:* Congressman Vorys, if the best troops of China did not fight the Communists, who is left now—any new mercenaries, or Americans? Or are we just going to string along with the generals?

*Congressman Vorys:* I can tell

you at some length about that. There are a lot of troops left there, and I've heard in only the past few days that a lot of this delay in the Communists moving south was not because they were stalling, but because they were held up.

In view of that phony fence around Shanghai, I wonder, if the defenses are so frail, why the Communists haven't moved in. There are a lot of fighting men left in South China and West China. In fact, China has still as much independent territory as they had when they stood alone against the Japanese.

Could I put this in about the question to my friend, Mr. Singh, about the United Nations? If the United Nations were strong enough and effective enough to stop the spread of communism and the seizing of iron countries in Europe, it would be strong enough and effective enough to stop the spread of communism, no doubt, in Asia.

One of the great tragedies and disappointments to all of us is that the United Nations has had this paralysis because of the use of the veto by the Communists. I watched it go on yesterday out there at Lake Success and Flushing Meadows.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Congressman. Mr. Isaacs has a comment on that.

*Mr. Isaacs:* I have a point to add to this problem of the United Nations. The United Nations is paralyzed by the fact that it is predi-

cated upon the existing system. There's nothing in the United Nations set-up which enables them to break away from it. I attended a meeting of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East which took place in Bangkok last month. It was a farce. It was completely paralyzed within narrow nationalist limits. The Frenchmen sat there talking for Indo-China, the Dutch were speaking for Indonesia, although the Indonesians had, after a very hard struggle, been admitted as associate members with a voice.

There was no possibility of planning coherently or intelligently because each foreign interest, especially, was trying to save its own interests. They were debarred from even trying to plan on a genuine regional basis, because they couldn't get over the barrier of the foreign interests still trying to control whole sections of the whole region.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Now the gentleman here in the aisle.

*Man:* Mr. Singh, shouldn't we base our policy on the fact that Asia's young people are the only means to emancipate Asia's villages and to industrialize Asia?

*Mr. Singh:* If your question means that we should depend a little more on the young people, with my gray hair—even with that—I say we definitely should depend more upon the young people all over the world. I think it is the young people who have to guide us now, who have to take the reins



from our hands—I'm referring to my generation—and lead Asia and the rest of the world.

I think that complaint lies a great deal in this country, too. Too many old people with too many old ideas, medieval thinking, still are in power in most of the world. I wish it wasn't so. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. The gentleman in the center aisle.

*Man:* Mr. Knickerbocker. Do you advocate war by this country to stop the Communists in China?

*Mr. Knickerbocker:* I advocate the support of the Chinese to stop the Communists in China. I believe only by doing that can we avoid that total World War III.

By the way, what does Mr. Isaacs mean by saying that by stopping the Chinese Communists in China, thereby we'll bring about World War III? My conception of this struggle between Stalin's empire and the free world is this: That only when Stalin gets the confidence that his communist empire is stronger than ours will he attack us. Now, if we keep the Communists from conquering all of China, how does Mr. Isaacs deduce that World War III would be the result?

*Mr. Isaacs:* I think that Mr. Knickerbocker is living in a dream world in which he's woven a program in his own head and he's come out with the answers, because he's already stopped the Communists in China. (*Applause.*) He says how will stopping the Communists in China prevent

World War III? Who has stopped the Communists in China? His billion dollars and his two thousand American officers? The whole point is that, to be realistic, if you want to go in on a military basis to stop the Communists in China, you've got to talk on the basis of a major expeditionary force equipped with everything that goes with such a force today, and even then, as Japan's attempt with a million men showed, you would have the very broad question to ask yourself about the result. Mr. Knickerbocker up here on the Town Hall platform is not stopping the Communists in China with his billion dollars. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Knickerbocker:* I want to point out one thing. Mr. Isaacs has indulged in a vastly extravagant statement when previously he said that we'd be dropping money into a bottomless hole and he gave you the impression as though we constantly poured billions into China. Now the matter of fact is that the Chinese Nationalist Government, since the end of this war, have about \$100,000,000 in actual military supplies, and that isn't even worth mentioning in terms of modern military equipment. One billion dollars is only about a fifteenth of what we're prepared to spend in Europe, and, Mr. Isaacs, may I remind you that a billion dollars is only about a week of the expense of the World War III which we might thereby prevent.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. The gentleman under the balcony.

*Man:* Mr. Singh, just what does the Nationalist Government mean to the Chinese people?

*Mr. Singh:* If you were to count the number of deserters from the troops who have run away from the Nationalist Government to the Communists; if you were to count the dead bodies of the young Chinese students whose bodies were thrown by the present Nationalist regime that my good friends are trying to uphold; if you were to count various other tyrannies that have been practiced in the name of this so-called Republic of China, which is not a representative republic and was never elected by the people, then the Nationalist Government and its stooges do not represent the people of China. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Isaacs:* I don't think that we can allow Mr. Knickerbocker's fiscal fables to pass by here without comment. I've heard some pretty fancy arithmetic with the figures on what we've tried to do in China in the last three years. The State Department's bottom estimate was a billion and a half. Other people have sat down with pencil and paper and run it up to four billions.

Now, even if any of those figures have water in them, and it's a question of how much rust there was on the airplane that we gave them, and how you figure the rate of depreciation, and how you value the cost of flying whole armies and divisions from West China to strategic points in the East, a hun-

dred million dollars in three years gets to be a little too high to swallow.

Does Mr. Knickerbocker exclude all the food? Does Mr. Knickerbocker exclude all the transport, the uniforms, the trucks, the ammunition, the guns, that have been given to China in the last three years? Why, a hundred million dollars wouldn't begin to take a pinch off one edge of it.

*Congressman Vorys:* It just happens that those State Department figures were furnished to me as a members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. I have analyzed them and you boil them down, and the Chinese have issued receipts for only \$105,400,000. (*Laughter.*) Of this about 20 per cent represented actual military equipment and ammunition. Of the \$125,000,000 Congress appropriated for military aid last year, no part procured by that money reached China before December, 1948. There was \$2,690,000 worth of orders picked up that the Chinese had ordered before. So it is quite accurate to say that the amount of aid that we have furnished China for fighting Communists on the State Department's own figures is about one hundred million up to last December. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Knickerbocker:* I would like to emphasize the fact, in support of what Congressman Vorys said, that Mr. Isaacs himself would have to admit this if he were to be in a position where we could force him

to put his pencil on paper, because the State Department itself doesn't deny that only \$100,000,000 in actual military supplies reached China. They issued a two billion dollar figure for their own purposes of propaganda, and Mr. Isaacs was kind enough to provide me with the illustration by saying "Some people have pushed it up with their pencils to four billion—among them probably just people who think like Mr. Isaacs. (Applause.)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Now while our speakers prepare their summaries, here is a special message of interest to you.

*Announcer:* Tonight we are glad to announce five more national organizations who will accompany our Round-the-World Town Meeting this summer and participate in the World Town Hall seminar. The American Federation of Labor, with its five million members, will be represented by Mr. Irving Brown.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations with its six million members will be represented by Mr. Elmer Cope.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs, with its five million affiliated members in the United States, will be represented by its president, Mrs. J. L. Blair Buck.

The American Civil Liberties Union will be represented by Mr. Alfred A. Albert.

The National Council of Negro Women will be represented by

Mrs. Edith S. Sampson, attorney of Chicago.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be represented by its director, Mr. Walter White.

The Lions International will be represented by its past president, Mr. Fred Smith.

A total of 20 representative American organizations will comprise this World Town Hall Seminar.

Now for the summaries of tonight's discussion.

*Mr. Denny:* We'll hear first from Congressman Vorys.

*Congressman Vorys:* We must help the people of Asia overcome communism and imperialism with the third way—the American way of the open door of independence and interdependence, mutual aid, and respect.

Communism in Asia is world communism, spreading by lies, terror, force, and violence—a threat to our own security. It must be stopped by force—economic, moral, military force. We must help stop it by aiding those who are struggling against it, for their cause is our cause. (Applause.)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Congressman Vorys. Mr. Isaacs.

*Mr. Isaacs:* There is no military solution to this problem any more than there is to the broader world problems that assail us. If we are driven to the point of military struggle, then we have been defeated, whatever the outcome. We have to use the time that remains



to learn how to develop a bold and revolutionary spirit in world affairs, to help put an end to the national barriers that are strangling Europe by the one hand, and to help the peoples of Asia shape a new kind of life for themselves on the other. This is the only way to buck communist totalitarianism. (Applause.)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Mr. Knickerbocker, please.

Mr. Knickerbocker: Well, this is the one thing that I'd like to be remembered, and our survival depends upon our realizing it: that the Communists put bullets first, ballots next. They use bullets on everyone who would use ballots against them. Then they give the survivors the ballots.

Let's give the free peoples of Asia arms, leadership, moral support, and economic backing to defend themselves now against communist imperialism. Save China, and Asia will be saved. It's not too late to save China. It is not too late to prevent World War III. (Applause.)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Knickerbocker. Mr. Singh.

Mr. Singh: I come from a country where a great man, a great teacher, lived until about 15 months ago. I am referring to Mahatma Gandhi. Among other things, Gandhi taught us to respect the means to the end. He told us never to give up principles just to achieve an end, because then the end itself is likely to be destroyed.

Let us by all means fight this

accursed communist totalitarianism, but let us not adopt its unclean methods. Let us stand by the true principles of democracy and wage a fight with a full and devout belief that truth will succeed in the end. (Applause.)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Singh, Mr. Knickerbocker, Mr. Isaacs, and Representative Vorys for your helpful contributions to our understanding of tonight's question.

I'm sure that all of our listeners will be interested in the fact that on June 14 we will put on a continuation of tonight's subject in cooperation with Rotary International, at their big round-the-world meeting where 51 representatives of Rotary International will be assembled for their annual meeting in Madison Square Garden. Town Meeting will continue the discussion of this subject under the title "How Can Free People Share Their Peace and Well Being With the Rest of the World?" The Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Brannan, Mr. Eric Johnston, and Mr. Philip Murray will be three of the speakers, and a fourth will be announced.

Now, copies of tonight's discussion will be available in our Town Meeting Bulletin which may be obtained by sending 10 cents to Town Hall, Box 56, New York 46. That's Town Hall, Box 56, New York 46.

Now, friends, we're only two weeks away from the beginning of our fifteenth year on the air when your Town Meeting will celebrate

by making its first round-the-world trip. Never in our entire experience have we undertaken such an important adventure. Our entire staff is working day and night, attending to the thousands of details which must be handled—contacts with the State Department and Embassies of every country we visit; passports; visas; the inevitable shots; and infinite amounts of research to secure just the right programs and speakers.

We told you last week how we were trying to overcome the problem of language barriers. We're happy to say that several of the countries we are visiting have already asked us to present the program in their languages also. We are making very complicated arrangements to do this. This involves expensive translations of speeches, programs, and publicity material. Indeed, we're getting out one illustrated brochure with captions in ten different languages.

You can imagine what that will cost.

All of this costs money—more money than is available in our present resources. So if you have not yet sent in your contribution, won't you do so tonight. Large as well as small donations are welcome, and all gifts to Town Hall are tax exempt. The address is Town Hall, Box 56, New York 46.

Next week, two United States Senators, a Congressman, and a military analyst will discuss a timely question now before Congress—"How Much Must We, the American People, Spend for Real National Security?" Our speakers will be Senator Millard E. Tydings, Democrat of Maryland; Senator Edwin Johnson, Democrat of Colorado; Congressman Dewey Short, Republican of Missouri; and Hanson Baldwin, military editor for the *New York Times*. (Applause.)

So plan now to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the crier's bell. (Applause.)